1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans
[p.136]

they occupy a temperate to cold environment, which offers rich rewards to a farming people but which otherwise possesses relatively meager resources. In prehistoric times the Tarascans were able to utilize the present area as a base to develop a modest empire. In historic times, their empire gone, they still have maintained a degree of individuality in the face of an encroaching modern civilization.

TECHNOLOGY

for the manufacture of brushes. The entire family may work at this task. While some collecting of *raiz de paja* still is carried on, the market collapsed badly with the outbreak of war in 1939, depriving a number of families of an important part of their livelihood. In good times, the roots sold at 30 to 35 centavos a kilo.[3]

A root, čalankóte, is used for washing woolens and is considered superior to soap.[4] It is dug in the barrancas, both for use and for sale. In Angáhuan, Rendón found seeds of a bush called kómerame used for the same purpose, as well as leaves called apúpen and roots of the plant pačánkua.

Honey gathering.—The one collecting technique still important in Cherán is gathering wild honey. Not only are there still specialists who spend many weeks at the occupation during proper seasons of the year, but there are numerous ceremonial associations. The *panaleros* or honey collectors are divided into two groups, each with an image and a *mayordomía* of San Anselmo, patron saint of the group. There are also important ceremonial activities on the part of the *panaleros* in connection with the fiesta of Corpus Christi in June. The various ceremonies are described later.

Most gathering of wild honey takes place in the regions of old lava flows or *malpais*. The *malpaises* of Turicuaro and Tanaco are considered among the best today for honey gather-

[3] In La Cañada, wild gourds, *guajes* (arumbas), are collected and sold in the Chilchota market. The leaf of a wild bay (?), bayu (hóngakua), is used in washing clothes by La Cañada Tarascans, who claim the plant is eaten by the Sierra Tarascans. Soaproot, *amole*, is used in La Cañada for bathing.

[4] The orthography used for native words is that recommended by *Proyecto Tarasco* and the *Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas* (Swadesh, 1946).

[p. 149]

222 237 ing. The combs found here are round and hang from tree branches. They are found by observing the flight of bees; this requires good eyesight and is difficult on cloudy days. The clear weather of late spring and fall consequently is the time of greatest activity. From December until warm weather begins, the honey is sugared and cannot be extracted from the comb.

Several varieties of bees are sought. The combs found near Cherán are white and have little honey, most of the comb being occupied by brood. In the region near Tanaco the combs are red, small, and almost completely full of honey, with little brood. Other combs are described as being occupied by bees that are *muy bravo*. Only this type of bee requires the use of smoke to secure the honey. At times this bee attacks passers-by and follows until the victim covers himself with straw. Lemon [752] juice is used to alleviate the stings. In addition to these types, wild European bees are sometimes found in hollow trees.

Once a comb is located, the *panalero* usually climbs the tree and knocks the comb down. If [481] the tree is large, he cuts notches in the trunk with a small special-type ax, tying himself with [412] a riata or a length of rope while he chops. The rope is not tied, but passes around the tree trunk and the two ends are held in the hands. The *panalero* holds the rope tightly while he edges up the tree. Then, with a skillful motion, he throws the loop of rope higher up the tree trunk. Once the comb is reached, the *panalero* covers his face and hands with a blanket and taps the comb until the bees leave. The procedures are regarded as highly dangerous. *Panaleros* are always careful to take a good rest before climbing a tree. They are also particularly attentive to their saint, San Anselmo, who is believed to protect them. The danger of the occupation is increased by the fact that the *panalero* always works alone and in case of accident could expect no rescue.

Honeycombs are now said to be so scarce that it is hardly worth while hunting them. Nevertheless, one *panalero* mentioned securing 19 combs on one trip which he sold for 9 pesos. Sometimes the combs are sold as collected. At other times the honey is extracted by squeezing the comb in an *ayate* or carrying net. If very

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

222 clear honey is desired, it may be strained
237 through silk. The native wild combs contain
no wax. The larvae are sometimes eaten,
[262] either toasted in their cells or fried. The latter
[252] method of preparation involves picking the larvae out of the cells. Yet another method is to toast the larvae with onion, chile, and salt. The latter method is said to be especially tasty, but probably only *panaleros* ever use any of these methods very often.[5]

222 The larvae of another insect, the *traspanal*
262 (*jicotera* in La Cañada), are also collected and eaten occasionally. This insect resembles the native bee but is a little larger and makes its nest in the ground to depths of 1 meter (3 ft.) or more. No other animal food is collected and the use of the eggs of wild birds was denied with every evidence of distaste.

USE OF MINERALS

316 Stone, volcanic cinders, and clay are the three mineral resources utilized in Cherán. Tuffs and lavas are employed for house building, foundations, and fences. The materials occur either in the town itself or in barrancas within a few hundred yards of the town. Volcanic cinders are also quarried out of the sides of barrancas, often within the town, and are em-
[491] ployed to spread over slippery places on trails, streets, and yards. The supply of materials far exceeds demand, and the public domain affords all needed supplies.

Most of the rock used in Cherán comes from a quarry on the west face of the hill of Santa Karákua (also called Santiákujákua) within the village. Most of the rock is prised out of the upper face of the quarry in large pieces, which usually are broken up in the fall to the foot of the quarry. The broken rock is then placed in piles, which later comers will not molest. Smaller rocks and spalls are abundant and anyone may help himself to these.
[492] The rocks are usually packed by tying them on burros with ropes, while small pieces may be placed in nets or in pack-boxes.

317 Clay is somewhat more scarce. It is used only for tilemaking and brickmaking, as no
[323] one in Cherán makes pottery. A sufficient supply of clay for all present needs is dug out

[144]

[5] At Sopoco in La Cañada, Rendón was told that the larvae are sometimes eaten raw.

231 *Bees*—While a moderate number of families have a few hives of bees, most of the apiculture in Cherán is carried on by a few men who may have 20 to 30 colonies. Only European bees are kept.

Beehives are wooden boxes, about 80 cm. long, 20 to 35 cm. wide, and 25 to 40 cm. high. The entrance is at one end, while the wax and honey are taken by opening the back. The hives are placed on benches or poles at intervals of about one-half meter. Lizards are be-
[825] lieved to eat the larvae. Flowers and scented herbs are often planted in the area surrounding the hives. Wherever bees are kept, copal
[314] gum is burned in pottery censers. It is said to "feed" the bees because "the odor of copal is the odor of our Lord." It is believed it also prevents bees from leaving. No other ritual or belief could be discovered.

237 Honey and wax are usually taken from the hives in October or November. If delayed much after this time, the honey sugars and cannot be extracted. The honey gatherer places a net over his head and burns wheat straw to stupefy the bees. The top of the hive is smeared with honey so the bees will not leave. Should they leave the hive and not return by late afternoon, a small bell is rung to attract them.

231 When bees swarm, a bell is rung to make them alight in a nearby tree. A little honey is smeared over the inside of a box, which is then placed by the swarm. When a few bees have entered voluntarily, most of the remainder are brushed in and the box is closed and put in place. When it is opened, the bees usually remain. The function of the queen is known, and beekeepers can identify her.

One of the largest apiaries in Cherán contains 42 hives. The owner started beekeeping 17 years ago when he encountered a wild colony in the mountains and brought it home. He
[438] recovers 10 kilos of wax a year, which he sells
[435] in Cherán at $2.50 a kilo, and between 40 and 50 pounds of honey. Most of the latter he sells in small quantities at his home, but some is sold to stores.

[462] All the work of caring for bees is done by men (with one exception, a widow), but if the wax is bleached, this may be done by women.
[373] Wax is used mainly for making candles.

231 Honey is used primarily to sweeten atole and
[237] as a treat for children.[11]

[263] For the village of Capacuaro, Silvia Rendón reports what are probably native bees kept in sections of hollow log hung on the walls. She was told they produced "Campeche wax" (*cera de Campeche*).

Pets.—Only domesticated animals are pets. Dogs and cats are most commonly treated as pets, being stroked, fondled, picked up, or played with. However, this is not true of all dogs or cats, nor is it true of all individuals. Pigs often seem to be treated as pets, especially young animals, but they are not picked up or fondled. Kids are sometimes pets, especially if the mother had died and the animal has been reared by hand. Even more common, although by no means general, are sheep. Lambs are placed on a leash until half-grown; after this they follow their masters everywhere, even to automobiles. Many children have lambs as pets. One boy of 10 had an immaculately washed white lamb with a red sash tied about its middle. The lamb followed him everywhere and was even trained to stand on the pack pad of a burro so it could be taken to the mountains on wood-cutting trips.

Beliefs and ceremonies.—The only ceremony connected with domestic animals is burning copal for bees. Beliefs are likewise few. The association of cats with witchcraft has been noted. If a dog sits down and howls by day closeby, it is a sign something bad is going to happen. Coyotes are believed able to bewitch
[825] the domestic animals they eat, especially chickens. "Coyotes just shake themselves and chickens will go right to them."

Curing of animals.—A few men are special-
232 ists at curing animals. They are usually paid for their services. Wounds and sores are cleaned by washing with lukewarm water, to which salt is sometimes added, until all pus is removed and bleeding begins. If the wound is deep, a wick of cloth may be inserted to keep it open; sometimes peroxide of hydrogen is used as a disinfectant, but creosote is more

[184] [11] Beekeeping is very popular in La Cañada. Nearly every family has at least a few hives. Much of the honey is used in the household, and only the surplus and the wax are sold. Burning of copal is not practiced.

In Angáhuan and Parícutin only a few people keep bees. The largest apiary in Parícutin contained only four hives, and only three people possessed hives.

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

[p.43c]

322 is sold in Pátzcuaro, where there is a broom
438 factory.

MISCELLANEOUS PROCESSES

237 *Wax bleaching and candlemaking.*—Beeswax is often bleached by exposure to the sun. Melted wax is poured into bowls so that it forms a thin shell over the inside. These shells are removed and exposed to the sun for several days until the wax becomes white. Although the wax loses weight by this process, it sells for no more than unbleached wax. The extra [461] effort thus apparently results in an economic loss, making the motivations for the work somewhat obscure. Although men do all other work [462] connected with beekeeping, women often bleach the wax.

394 Candles are made by men. Two candlemakers are reputed to live in Cherán. The only one who could be located was always so drunk at the time of interviewing that little reliability can be attached to the data secured

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

527 is no bull riding and the market is unimportant. In place of the market there is a mock market conducted by the persons who have some special occupation.

527 While all the occupations in the town are represented in the fiesta, only the more impor-
463 tant ones take official part. These are the
624 *arrieros* or muleteers, the traveling merchants and storekeepers, the agriculturists, the shake makers, the board makers, and perhaps others. For each of these groups, eight commissioners are named for each *barrio*, or a total of 32 for each occupation involved. The commissioners are obligated to provide a group of musicians for their occupation. They are privileged to take up a collection from other members of the occupation, but contributions are strictly voluntary and payment is not enforced by the *municipio* as is the case with the fiesta of the patron saint. The merchants usually nominate their own commissioners, transmitting the list to the mayor; this may be true of other occupations also.

Other occupations, such as the breadmakers, the weavers, the butchers, the storekeepers, and the honey collectors, are also participants in the fiesta, but they are not obligated to provide a group of musicians, although they sometimes do so. The honey collectors, however, have special duties.

527 Some 15 days before the fiesta, the honey gatherers take the two images of their patron
237 saint, San Anselmo, to the rancheria of Cosúmo. They usually make a camp in the woods, where they have music and drink a great deal in the evenings. During the day they collect bee nests or *panales*. These are brought to Cherán shortly before the fiesta, and two structures, katárakua, are prepared. These are made of two poles crossed at one end to form a V Cross pieces are fastened to these and the whole well covered with shakes. To the shakes are fastened the honeycombs collected, held in place with a large net similar to the fish nets of Lake Pátzcuaro. The two largest honeycombs are placed at the top of each structure. In this fashion they are paraded around the plaza on the days of fiesta (some say only on Tuesday). After the fiesta they are sold.

[526] The *panaleros* or honey gatherers also stage a greased-pole climb near the calvary on the

527 east side of town. At the top of a smooth,
237 well-greased pole are placed cigarettes, hand-
[526] kerchiefs, etc. These are called the *panal* or "honeycomb" and form the reward of the first man to get up the greased pole. The honey gatherers also often hire musicians, but this is voluntary on their part.

527 *The fiesta begins* on Monday and ends on
543 Saturday, but the main events take place on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday. On these days all the persons following different occupations assemble in the plaza, and there is a mock market. Each person exhibits the type of goods he has made or the occupation he follows. Shake makers split shakes on the plaza and the plank makers saw planks. In addition, miniature shakes and planks are made and offered for sale. The carpenters make miniature houses. The farmers (and possibly the restaurant keepers) set up tiny tables with miniature dishes and serve miniature portions. They offer tiny tortillas about 2 or 3 cm. in diameter and other things, including the dishes, in proportion. When people partake of the food they ask, "How much?" The reply is "One hundred pesos" or some fantastic sum. The purchaser, however, usually gives a piece of chewing gum, candy, or some other small object. The blanket weavers and belt weavers offer miniature blankets and belts for sale as well as tiny woven wrist bands. Agriculturists exhibit all the seeds they grow, and in processions scatter seeds over the crowd. The *arrieros* or muleteers exhibit the goods they carry, such as salt, rice, brown sugar, and other basic necessities. They also make atole in the plaza, with a man grinding the maize on a metate. The traveling merchants and storekeepers exhibit notions such as thread, chewing gum, and dry goods. The breadmakers make
[436] quantities of miniature breads about an inch and a half in diameter. These are used as money by everyone.

527 About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Tuesday,
543 Thursday, and Friday, those exhibiting their wares carry them about the plaza, giving a
198 special high-pitched cry used on no other occasion. At first they say nothing, but then they use special Tarascan words, also employed on no other occasion. "Arijeta," they shout, meaning "Come quickly everyone," followed by

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34

443 Sunday. The places where meat is sold are
253 called *"despachos"* and are announced by hang-
262 ing out a red flag on a standard. Four or five places sell meat remaining from Sunday through most of the week. No distinction is made in price between meat with bone and meat without bone, but *on request one* will be served only meat; in the Tarascan towns the buyer has to take what is cut. Pork is preferred to beef. Beef hides are sold to dealers; those of swine either are made into cracklings or are pickled in vinegar after rubbing with chile, onion, garlic, and fragrant herbs.

226 Some fish are caught with nets in the river
262 passing Chilchota. The fishermen are only semiprofessional, fishing when they have time and selling the catch only if they have more than can be consumed at home. At least one
224 man, a farmer, hunts deer in his spare time.
262 He sells the flesh retail like beef. The dried
237 deer blood, hoofs, and hair are sold for magical or medicinal uses.

Black maize is used primarily to make
252 *chapatas*, tamales of black or red maize, sweet-
262 ened with brown sugar and mixed with black or red amaranth. It is also used to make *atole de cascara de cacao* (atole of chocolate hulls) and *ponteduros*, which are toasted immature corn ground and mixed with brown sugar sirup.

Greens (*quelites*) of wheat are made from
423 a wild plant or weed which grows among the
252 wheat and are greatly liked in Chilchota. A
262 curious custom exists in that anyone may help himself to these greens, entering into wheat fields belonging to others either with or without permission. Anyone objecting would be severely censored in Chilchota. Pozole is also made from green wheat toasted, ground, and mixed with chile, salt, and *"epazote."* The time for this is May at the harvest; it is "hot" food.

A food made from the chayote root is *sagú*.
252 The skin is removed from the tubers and the
262 pulp ground to a sort of flour. The flour is placed in water for 2 or 3 days, being stirred frequently. The flour is then allowed to settle, the water drained off, and the flour dried. Although it is used in various dishes, the main
[846] use is to feed small children and women recently delivered, when it is cooked in water, either plain or sweetened with honey. The plain boiled chayote root, uarás in Tarascan, is sold

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.215a]
Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

252 262 extensively in all La Cañada towns and is much liked.

One of the favorite meat dishes in Chilchota is not unlike the čurípo of the Tarascans and is called "*espinazo.*" It is a broth made from the backbone of the pig, flavored with chile and including cooked bitter prickly pears known as jococoxtles. The broth is usually accompanied by boiled rice.

237 252 262 Not much sausage is made in Chilchota, but the blood of the pig is greatly liked, both in Chilchota and the Tarascan towns of La

[text continues on top of p.215b]

APPENDIX 2

THE CEREMONIAL ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

121 [578] The following information on the ceremonial organization of Chilchota was collected by Pedro Carrasco. Due to political struggles, the ceremonial organization was not in existence from 1932 to 1940. The data given are representative of conditions as they existed before 1932, amplified by data on the partial revival of the ceremonial life of the town in 1940 (the differences are indicated by past and present tenses). The organization and the observances present many interesting parallels and differences from Cherán, particularly in view of the fact that Chilchota is a Mestizo town today. Carrasco found only one man of about 90 who had been reared in a Tarascan-speaking family; nevertheless, culturally Chilchota evidently is still somewhat of a Tarascan town. Many Tarascan words survive and such old institutions as the hospital are better preserved than in many Tarascan towns.

796 621 The ceremonial organization is linked with division of the town into *barrios* of San Juan and San Pedro. Two other *barrios* exist, Uren and Chapala, but they appear to be recent additions and, unless otherwise specified, only the first two *barrios* are referred to. The principal

796 624 ceremonial offices and their relation to the *barrios* are as follows:

Office	Barrio
Mayordomo of the Hospital	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro

[text continues on middle of p.215b]

1:Beals E-5 (1940-1941)1946 NU34 Tarasco NU34
[p.215]
Sierra Tarascans
La Cañada

252
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Cañada. The blood is placed in the cleaned entrails, together with other visceral parts of the animal, which have been cut into small pieces, *silantro*, chile, and onion. At some point the mixture is cooked. By the time the product is sold, the blood has solidfied. The purchasers remove the mixture from the casings, mill it on the metate with water, and fry it with lard.

Bread of the type known in Tarascan towns as *pan grueso* is made in Chilchota. Most bread, however, is brought from the larger neighboring town of Tangancícuaro.

APPENDIX 2

ORGANIZATION OF CHILCHOTA

Office	*Barrio*
Mayordomo of the patron saint, Santiago	One year from San Juan, the next from San Pedro
Carguero of San Roque or Karačakape	*Barrio* of San Juan
Carguero of San Nicolás	*Barrio* of San Pedro
Two *vaqueros*	One from each *barrio*
Four *roseras*[1] or uánančatis	Two from each *barrio*
Two *regidores*	One from each *barrio*

[1] One of the *roseras* is called *pondomperi*, and one *cepitomero*. They are always of different *barrios*, the positions alternating from one *barrio* to the other each year.

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624

All these individuals are called *cargueros*. It is they who bear the expense of all religious festivals.

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Unlike Cherán, this group of *cargueros* forms a hierarchy through which individuals pass, ultimately to become one of the *viejos principales* (principal old men) or tarépiti. The sequence is as given, the first position being that of *mayordomo* of the hospital, then *mayordomo* of Santiago, then either *carguero* of San Roque or of San Nicolás, depending on the *carguero's barrio*, then *vaquero* (while female members of his family serve as *roseras*), and finally *regidor*. After this the *carguero* is an "old man," a principal. The old men and the *cargueros* who have occupied the positions of both *mayordomo* of the hospital and *mayordomo* of Santiago form the group known as the *cabildo*.

In addition to the hierarchical offices, there are a number of minor positions, the most

231 house lot. Droves of pigs are never mast-fed in the forest. Hogs are fattened on corn and sold; as pork is well liked, they are often killed for food and for lard, now indispensable in European-modified Indian cookery.

Other animal domesticates include fowls and bees. The turkey (kuɾúka),[111] the only native domesticated fowl in the area, is more common in mestizo towns than in Tarascan villages. The European chicken (ʃíkata,)[112] however, is ubiquitous; practically every Indian household has a flock of five or six. A single breed, probably descendent from the Spanish fowls introduced early in the 16th century, predominates.[113] Improved breeds have penetrated only into large mestizo towns on the edge of the indigenous area. Several families in every Tarascan pueblo keep a few hives of European bees in the house lot. Hives consist of rows of small wooden rectangular boxes placed on benches (pl. 7). In some Sierra villages (e. g. Capacuaro) native bees hive in sections of logs hung on the outside wall of the [263] house. Both honey (for sweetening) and wax [237] (for religious candles) are extracted from the hives in November or December.

Animal foods in Tarascan diet.—Tarascans eat 262 meat whenever it is available and can be afforded. 252 Chunks of boiled beef are one of the chief ingredients of čuɾípu. This dish is also made of the heart, liver, intestines, and lungs. Other beef dishes prepared in most Tarascan pueblos are: a stew, or atápakua, thickened with *mole;* uiɾíkata, or meat broiled over charcoal or on the *comal*; various cuts fried in the *casuela*; *menudo*, or stomach lining boiled and served with ground chile; dried salted meat (*cecina*); steamed beef heads (including tongue and brains), called *virría* or *babaqua*.[114]

[235] Neither cow nor goat milk is popular among Tarascans. Some milk cows are kept in the larger villages to supply the pregnant and the sick. Little cheese is made locally, most being brought in from the *tierra caliente*.

Although well liked by most Tarascans, mutton

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[111] The word kuɾúka is apparently onomatopoeic; ʃíkata-ambás or "good chicken," is also used as a name for turkey.

[112] The word "ʃíkata" is Tarascan for a wild grouse, and was evidently applied to the chicken soon after its introduction.

[113] Hens are small, dull brown, often speckled with yellow and black; cocks are reddish brown with highly colored tail, wing, and neck feathers.

[114] Some of the above Tarascan words are also applied to stews and roasts of deer meat. With the possible exception of čuɾípu, uiɾíkata, and atápakua, all meat dishes prepared by modern Tarascans are of Spanish origin.

5: Beals & Carrasco E-5 (1940-1941) 1944
NU34 Tarasco NU34
Sierra Tarascans

Mexico, while hockey hitherto has not been reported. Neither is there evidence that hockey type games were ever played by the Spanish. Angáhuan, the only village for which the game is reported, is one of the most isolated and conservative Tarascan villages. The games follow:

Uɑ́ɾukuni.[6] The game is played by two opposing sides of equal numbers. Any number may play. Each player has a stick, *uɑ́ɾukaɾáku̯a*, in either of the two forms shown in figure 1. Mango wood is preferred. The ball, *taɾándukua*, is often made of rags, but one made by winding cord about a center formed of a white substance secreted by the green worms of the madrone tree is preferred. The latter type of ball is called *taɾándukua ɜanári.*

The game is always played around a block of the town. The starting point is a street intersection. The two teams line up as shown in figure 2. A representative of each team stands in the center of the intersection. One throws the ball in the air and each player then tries to knock it toward his own team. The winning team must take the ball around the block back to the starting street intersection.

The teams are sometimes representatives of different blocks in the town. The block chief, an official appointed annually by the mayor for each block in the town, names the men who will play. Men so named may not refuse to play. The most important occasion on which the game is played is the day following the feast of Conception, December 8. This day is called *siɾáŋgua.* An official called the *kiéɲi*, who cares for the hospital (formerly a hospital in fact but now the residence of the *kiéɲi*; and the repository of ceremonial equipment) and runs errands for the heads of the ceremonial heirarchy in the church, makes an especially big ball of rags for the game. Two very large teams play with this ball, playing around each block of the town successively.[7]

Akúɕperani. Two men play with the same stick and ball used in *uɑ́ɾukuni.* The players start in the middle of a street and each attempts to knock the ball to an established goal.

Aɪɑ́ɾukuni. This game is played at Cherán, a large town 20 miles northeast of Urapan. Any number of players compete in two teams of equal size. Each player has a stick, *aɪɑ́ɾuɪɑ́ku̯a*, curved at one end and from a meter to a meter and a half in length. The ball, *apáɾikua*, is made of rags wrapped with cord. The players line up opposite one another according to the numbers engaged (fig. 3). The contest begins in the middle of a block and each side attempts to take the ball to the opponents' end of the block. A representative of each team first tosses a coin or pot sherd at a line. The man whose piece is nearest the line

[6] The recording of native terms is in the official alphabet now being used by the Departamento Autónomo de Asuntos Indígenas.

[7] The resemblance to the winter hockey games of the Southwest is very suggestive. Silvia Rendón writes that the game is played daily from December 9 to Carnival and that each block and every man competes during this period.